

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----261739Z 059285 /41

O P 261722Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4425  
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 08800

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR, US, UK. XF  
SUBJECT: OWEN-YOUNG MEETING, MAY 26

SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN ON MAY 26 EXCHANGED THOUGHTS ON NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. ON NAMIBIA THEY IDENTIFIED THE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF THE CURRENT INITIATIVE AS A) THE COMPOSITION OF THE PROPOSED CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY; B) THE COOPERATION AND GOOD FAITH OF BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO; C) THE TIMING AND NATURE OF THE UN ROLE; AND D) THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS BEFORE ELECTIONS AND THEIR REPLACEMENT BY OTHER SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS. THE ISSUE OF WHITE CONFIDENCE DOMINATED THE RHODESIA DISCUSSION. THE GROUP AGREED GENERALLY THAT THE ECONOMIC ANXIETIES OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY ARE MORE IMPORTANT TO ADDRESS THAN THE CONSTITUTIONAL ANXIETIES. END SUMMARY.

1. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SAW FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN FOR  
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BREAKFAST ON MAY 26. WITH OWEN WERE MINISTERS OF STATE TED ROWLANDS AND GORONWY-ROBERTS, PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY EVAN LUARD, UKUN AMBASSADOR IVOR RICHARD, THE PRIME MINISTER'S POLITICAL ADVISER TOM MCNALLY, AND OWEN'S PRIVATE SECRETARY EWEN FERGUSON. (YOUNG WAS ACCOMPANIED BY MAYNES, COOKS. PETTERSON, PETREE, MILLER AND SEITZ.)

2. ON NAMIBIA, OWEN SUGGESTED THAT THE WESTERN FIVE URGENTLY DEVELOP THEIR POSITION FOR THE NEXT PHASE OF TALKS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS. IN ANTICIPATION OF AN UNSATISFACTORY RESPONSE BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS ON THE QUESTIONS OF A CENTRAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY, THE INTRODUCTION OF A UN PRESENCE, AND THE ROLE OF TURNHALLE, OWEN SAID WE MUST BE PREPARED WITH AN OUTLINE OF OUR OWN CRITERIA FOR INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS. THE DISCUSSION IDENTIFIED FOUR ISSUES THAT CAN BE EXPECTED TO COMPLICATE THE NEGOTIATIONS:

A) SAM NUJOMA REMAINS SUSPICIOUS OF ANY INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND PREFERS INSTEAD A CONFERENCE, PRESUMABLY ALONG THE LINES HE HAS ADVOCATED IN THE PAST. HE WOULD RESIST ANY INTERIM ADMINISTRATION THAT INCLUDED TURNHALLE ELEMENTS. VORSTER HOWEVER IS COMMITTED TO THE PERSONALITIES OF TURNHALLE AND WILL NOT ENTIRELY ABANDON THEM.

B) LIKE THE SOUTH AFRICANS, SWAPO WILL HAVE TO BE PRESSED TO AGREE TO AN INTERIM PROCESS THAT IS ESSENTIALLY NEUTRAL. YOUNG SUGGESTED THAT THIS LEADERSHIP SHOULD COME FROM AFRICAN STATES, PARTICULARLY NIGERIA, WHICH IS PREPARED TO BE TOUGH WITH SWAPO, AND ANGOLA, WHICH SEES AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA AS A BRAKE ON CONTINUED SOUTH AFRICAN-UNITA COOPERATION. TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA ARE ALSO WILLING TO INFLUENCE SWAPO BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW MUCH WEIGHT THESE STATES CARRY WITH NUJOMA.  
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C) THE GROUP AGREED THAT A UN PRESENCE MUST BE PART OF THE INTERIM PROCESS FROM THE OUTSET. THE SOUTH AFRICANS, ON THEIR SIDE, INSIST THAT THE UN ROLE SHOULD BE CONFINED TO THE ELECTORAL PERIOD AND NOT INVOLVED IN WHATEVER ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS PRECEDE THAT STAGE. SWAPO, ON ITS SIDE, SEES THE COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA AS HAVING THE DOMINANT POSITION WITHIN A UN ROLE. THE COUNCIL IS ANATHEMA TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS BUT YOUNG SUGGESTED THIS PROBLEM COULD PERHAPS BE BRIDGED BY APPOINTING ATHISAARI AS THE ELECTORAL COMMISSIONER IN NAMIBIA. IVOR RICHARD SPECULATED THAT WALDHEIM WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO APPOINT UN OFFICIALS IN AN INTERIM STRUCTURE IF IT BROUGHT HIM INTO CONFLICT WITH THE COUNCIL.

D) NUJOMA DOES NOT APPEAR TO DEMAND A COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS PRIOR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERIM AUTHORITY BUT AS A MINIMUM HE INSISTS

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ON A COMMITMENT FOR A PHASED WITHDRAWAL BEFORE ELECTIONS.  
THE GROUP DISCUSSED THE FEASIBILITY OF TRANGING A UN  
PEACEKEEPING FORCE TO ASSURE SECURITY IN NAMIBIA  
(PARTICULARLY ON THE ANGOLA BORDER) ONCE SOUTH AFRICAN  
TROOPS HAVE DEPARTED. THE GROUP AGREED IT IS UNTHINK-  
ABLE THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS COULD REMAIN IN NAMIBIA  
DURING THE ELECTION PHASE. OWEN SUGGESTED THE  
AUSTRALIANS COULD TAKE A LEADING ROLE IN A UN FORCE AND  
SAID HE WOULD RAISE THE POSSIBILITY WITH FRASER DURING  
THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE HERE (HE SAID THE  
CANADIANS HAVE LOST ALL INTEREST IN PARTICIPATING IN  
INTERNATIONAL FORCES). IVOR RICHARD ARGUED THAT THE  
SOVIETS WOULD BE CERTAIN THAT WHATEVER PROPOSED PEACE-  
KEEPING FORCE MIGHT EMERGE FROM THE UN MACHINERY WILL  
CONTAIN ELEMENTS WHICH THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD FIND  
UNACCEPTABLE. THE AMERICAN SIDE WAS LESS PESSIMISTIC,  
SAYING THE SOVIETS WOULD GO ALONG WITH WHATEVER THE  
INFLUENTIAL AFRICAN STATES ACCEPTED.

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3. OWEN SAID THE WESTERN FIVE MUST CONCENTRATE ON DEVELOPING A PACKAGE FOR NAMIBIA THAT IS REALISTIC AND CAN WORK. HE SAID IT IS IMPORTANT TO PERSUADE THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO DELAY A UNILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION OF A CENTRAL AUTHORITY. TED ROWLANDS AGREED BUT WARNED THAT THE FIVE COULD SLIP INTO THE FRUSTRATING POSITION OF ATTEMPTING TO NEGOTIATE FORMULAS FOR AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. THE GROUP ACCEOTED YOUNG'S SUGGESTION THAT THE FIVE AIM TO HAVE THEIR POSITION ON NAMIBIA FULLY DEVELOPED BEFORE JUNE 16.

4. THE CONVERSATION ON RHODESIA DWELLED PRIMARILY ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES FOR THE WHITE COMMUNITY. OWEN SAID THAT HE WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF A CONSTITUTION COULD BE PUT ON PAPER BEFORE THE END OF JUNE. THE MAJOR HURDLE, HE SAID, WILL BE THE ISSUE OF THE FRANCHISE. YOUNG AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO NEGOTIATE ANYTHING SHORT OF ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE. OWEN SAID THAT IF THE WHITES COULD BE CONVINCED TO ACCEPT UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE THEN THEY CAN REASONABLY REQUIRE SOMETHING ELSE IN THE CONSTITUTION THAT WOULD PROTECT THEIR RIGHTS. HE SUGGESTED A CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION STATING THAT A POST-INDEPENDENCE AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION MUST BE SUBMITTED TO A REFERENDUM UNDER SEPARATE VOTING ROLLS. YOUNG ARGUED THAT CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS BASED ON RACIAL QUALIFICATIONS WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED BY THE NATIONALISTS. AS AN ALTERNATIVE HE SUGGESTED AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY CHARGED WITH PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. ROWLANDS AND RICHARD ALSO DISAGREED WITH THE FOREIGN SECRETARY'S SUGGESTION.

5. OWEN SAID HE WAS NOT WEDDED TO ANY PARTICULAR CONSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM BUT STRESSED THAT THE WHITES WILL NEED SOME FORM OF REASSURANCE FOR THEMSELVES BEFORE ACCEPTING MAJORITY RULE. THE WHITE COMMUNITY IN

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RHODESIA DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THE CONCEPT OF AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY. HE ADDED THAT, AS HE HAD DISCUSSED AT LENGTH WITH VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE, WE WOULD ALSO HAVE TO COME UP WITH A FORMULA THAT WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE PROTECTION OF PENSION RIGHTS AS WELL.

6. TED ROWLANDS SAID THAT IT WAS NOT IMPERATIVE TO ADDRESS THE CONSTITUTIONAL ANXIETIES OF THE WHITES BUT

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RATHER THEIR ECONOMIC CONCERNS, THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT OF WHICH ARE PENSIONS AND LAND TRANSFER. HOWEVER BALANCED AND EQUITABLE A CONSTITUTION MAY APPEAR, THE WHITES WOULD NOT EXPECT IT TO LAST VERY LONG AFTER INDEPENDENCE. THEY ARE THEREFORE PREOCCUPIED WITH ECONOMIC GUARANTEES. OWEN INTERJECTED THAT THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, AS NOW CONCEIVED, COULD NOT MEET THESE ANXIETIES. CONGRESS WILL LIKELY GO ALONG WITH THE FUND, YOUNG SAID, BUT NOT UNTIL IT IS BETTER DEFINED AND CLEARLY UNENCUMBERED BY SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR THE WHITES. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION, THE BRITISH SAID THEY COULD LOOK INTO THE POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING SEPARATE FUNDS FOR PENSIONS AND LAND TRANSFER BUT POINTED OUT THAT SUCH PROGRAMS WOULD BE EXPENSIVE FOR THEM TO CARRY ALONE.

7. YOUNG SAID THAT AS THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS UNFOLDS WE MUST KEEP AWARE OF THE TIDE OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE. INCURSIONS INTO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES BY THE RHODESIAN  
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ARMED FORCES OR A MAJOR ESCALATION OF GUERRILLA  
ACTIVITY COULD INSTANTLY UPSET THE NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS  
IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH THE NATIONAL-  
IST LEADERS TO PREVENT SUCH A SUDDEN REVERSAL. OWEN  
AGREED SAYING THAT HIS GREATEST FEAR IS THAT THE CURRENT  
INITIATIVE COULD COLLAPSE ALMOST OVERNIGHT BECAUSE OF  
EVENTS QUITE BEYOND OUR CONTROL.

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## Message Attributes

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